175 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo
565 society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social,
economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of
the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued
without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the *engenho* in the
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433 colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region—other products
565 and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and
563 manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development
of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a
class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands
unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites
lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes
and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief
commercial product of these small farmers was *rolo* or *corda* tobacco
(similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent
farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice,
and bananas were produced.

175 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient,
43 in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small
farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the
livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the
Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter
[231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into
the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably
from the *sertão* of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These
animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de
Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

175 178 249 439 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo. The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 565 567 471 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural com-
> munities were called, produced everything that they
> consumed except luxury, and this was imported from
> Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco,
> cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
> [466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of
> life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He
> exercised the right of torture and flogging in propor-
> tion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
> 175 because of their collective and independent existence,
> 249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
> 471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
> 565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
> [668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

> 175 249 maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in
> 565 the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season,
> [471] June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views
of many upper-class *Baianos* who identify themselves with this opulent
era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by
the colonial sugar industry is outliving the *engenho* system. The
wealth, pride, and ostentation of these *fidalgos* is undeniable.
Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class
life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of
the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social oppor-
tunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The *casas*
[342] *grandes*—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult:
few *engenhos* had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class
could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made
frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists
567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were
relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These
slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British
began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and
delegation of administration to people outside the family was not
usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out
of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively
personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-
[563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as
[563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the
[466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic
565 position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or
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[554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population
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162 of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between
175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere
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162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the
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563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates,
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567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

175 563 565 567 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

175 249 471 454 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR *ENGENHOS* OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*		
	Per Unit		Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500		$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150		7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20		904,500
23,100 horses	20		464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46	(approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23	(approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000		141,000
62 water canals	3,000		186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000		1,206,000
Total in Bahia			$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of *reis*, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the *engenho*, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the *senhor de engenho* is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 471 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
454 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 439 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 249 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
● [565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
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249 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
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181 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
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181 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

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For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and powerful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

563 162 634 in all *municípios* but three—Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da Feira. The variations between the individual *municípios* reflect: (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are *mestiços*, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 565 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class, no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible—difficulty on account of their racial background. *Baianos* say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or *mulato* is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race *per se*.[9]

565 *Class Differences*. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

565 563 [162] Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their *fazendas* or *engenhos*. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through [871] these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (*cidade*, a sort of county seat). For [871] the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, *brancos da terra* (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Negro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (*gente*). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the *cidade*, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The *feitor* (foreman) and the *vaquéiro* (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the *balançéiro* or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

565 563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, *mulatos*, or dark-skinned *mestiços*.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of *cidade* dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some *brancos da terra*.

565 369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on *fazendas* outside the *cidade*. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 [212] Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 The Family. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

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was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brasilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

565 596 861 [872] the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 571 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society
in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only
a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political
assistance.

Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
565 857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of
economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children
frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls
may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the
mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack
a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning
of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of
food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the
proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either
undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural
[464] areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved
by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual
independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the
aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but
also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

565 796 [184] (*festas*) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a *samba* (dance), a *candomblé* (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from *sêcas* usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The *sertanejo* of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his *terra* (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the *sertão*. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the *sertão*. They had come from the *sertão* on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few *cruzeiros*, and were returning to their native *terra*. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The *municípios* of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big *usinas*, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

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The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 565 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has
● [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464
241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

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369
433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633
162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming
the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their
growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and
1950.

633 Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro,
[162] 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest
cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in
[443] Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing
centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers.
Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the
slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira
was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco
economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some
of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past,
633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities
496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail-
494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction
of the railroad and the development of automotive transport
apparently have been important factors in the declining importance
of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods
brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The
633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present
[565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial
centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and
as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes
declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural
systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within *municípios* is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each *município* were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

BB [435] [24] Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25] The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26] Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, *The Development of Brazil* (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [796] [27] However, these people muster tremendous energy for *festas* (holidays or feast days), especially *Carnavál*. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the *novena* of *Nossa Senhora de Purifição* in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28] The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo—Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo—are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29] It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit *per se*—the *município* or the *distrito* has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [565] [562] [857] [30] In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

241 Supplementary Crops
433 (Subsistence and Commercial):
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Pineapple (*Abacaxi*)	168 hectares
Rice (*Arroz*)	61 "
Tomatoes (*Tomate*)	46 "
White Potatoes (*Batata inglêsa*)	44 "
Cotton (*Algodão*)	40 "
Onions (*Cebola*)	14 "
Garlic (*Alho*)	5 "
Green or Snap Beans (*Fava*)	4 "

241 311 245 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (*Dendê*)
Mango (*Manga*)
Jack Fruit (*Jaca*)
Cashew (*Cajú*)
Bread Fruit (*Fruta de pão*)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (*Bovinos*)
  Cows (*Vacas*)
  Oxen (*Bois de trabalho*)
Sheep (*Ovinos*)
Goats (*Caprinos*)
Swine (*Suínos*)
Donkeys (*Asininos* or *Burros*)
Mules (*Muares*)
Horses (*Eqüinos* or *Cavalos*)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 *Manioc*. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. 175 262 178 565 Flour made from the manioc root, *farinha de mandioca*, was the basic subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco [175] [439] [567] [565] originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brasil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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[127] [25] The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[351] [565] [26] Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27] These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28] The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29] Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30] This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31] For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32] The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33] The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié—the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré—and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

[565] Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 [656] The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

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433 of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
[231] manioc.
[233]

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of
production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os
Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and
one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities
of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer
[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231] into the area from the *sertão*, and little livestock breeding is found
[233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small
[471] number of medium-sized *usinas*. The companies which own these *usinas*
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent
the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the
[499] cane is brought to the *usinas* by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505]
[438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
[565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[471]
[472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
[464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force
of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes
from the interior *sertão* of Bahia.

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation sys-
tem; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the com-
mercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has con-
tinued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable
history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural de-
velopment, Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a
number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its
[565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control
of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small
group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff,
the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises—the
organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, trans-
portation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good politi-
cal connections and government support. A part of the industry,
[242] composed chiefly of the largest *usinas*, has had some experience with
improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechaniza-
tion.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most
of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in
the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale
only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--
the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton.
Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent—there is only one new
usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite
[464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one
[178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic
[466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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241 In the
231 surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases,
233 economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of
crop cultivation.

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43 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization
443 of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of
BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit
(249) essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country-
(452) side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent
BB
[249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly,
the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its
products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for
the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products
which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador
are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the
sertão.

B
BB
241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo
are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and
the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems.
Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil,
B
BB is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant,
[464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at
mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in
B the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia--
BB
[423] and the class organization with which it is associated are important
[565] in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers
of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts
of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon
the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 433 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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/For information on social class in Bahia Brazil, see category 116, pp. 35-3
141-145, 150-154, 161-164, 166, 176-178, 180, and 189-190./

Brazilians SO11

, 99-117, 125-138,

443 dlers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
565 it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

[Class C Families]

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common
names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a
child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical
or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe
Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their
own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only
for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive
form of the given name is also popular, and is applied
even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive
for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his
mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially
if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the
city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be
a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife.
In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent,
especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much
attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that
woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse,
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the god- 608
mother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an
unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a
halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the hus-
band or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo
are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the
wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay,
the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had
committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her 369
most of the time, helping in the house and working with her
in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently
on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in
town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small
altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's
[778] chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and
back to the convent and church. A few people set their small
[788] household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be
*[565] blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accom-
panied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy
[184] over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is
[431] observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

Prayers

794 Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the
782 women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group
of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray
●[565] aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which con-
[184] tains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who
knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on
the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them,
especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said be-
cause of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the
priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his
patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need
for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish.
A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the
Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other
times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot
[776] have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however,
do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of
Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at
[794] least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find
women who belong to an African cult group praying at these
nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or
may not be represented in their cult houses.

755 Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be
782 caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman
pray over the victim. There are several women in town who
[754] can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do
not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the vic-
tim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes
over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by

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HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

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1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By [439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 249 567 •565 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-[571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[122] [1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Clementino Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All 567
writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between 565
the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was
not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil 571
relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other
regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east 249
for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 567
caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar 571
industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past,
and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large 466.
commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large- 178
scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, 565
and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro [464]
slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is 121
called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known 361
as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern
side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was 175
characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of 249
these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar [311]
production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557-74),

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 124 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

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[582] On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

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[427] After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same conditions as before, but legally free.

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567 Contrary to popular opinion, the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

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[425]
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[178] At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page [illegible] ff.

634 but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

162 [161] The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled.' There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

563 The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

565 [582] In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), [596] both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the 565 extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, 463 such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have resi- [871] dences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read [563] or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, [464] and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

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[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *caatingueiros* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new 463
petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large [565]
part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal
secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and
their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions
belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government
divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores)
and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy 361
communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is 489
still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the
regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either
by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community [493]
area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and
a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One 361
hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and
dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful 178
sobrados of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the 829
engenhos), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost
1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in
the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from
the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have
disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their
plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have
gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila
Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken
the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white 563
and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small
the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line'
is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and
white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual.
Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification
by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one
of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the
Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between
a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or
Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely [826]
describe each person; they classify according to skin colour,
according to hair form and according to facial features, and their
classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just
as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and
fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and
hair.

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[484] [464] [357] the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

[249] 563 369 On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

[582] [829] The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

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[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente da roça* (backwoodsmen).

565 [563] In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

565 574 In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

565 The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

[665] [578] This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

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ing to the past, hard-put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension, or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum; also the measure of desire to climb which the individual possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused.

565 563 Most people in this stratum who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently most opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Upper-class people accept light-skinned people more readily—nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy *preto* than a poor white.

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries *upward* more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colours are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *mosca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has 'lightened' his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and more readily acceptable because of their colour and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

Traditionally
565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
[178] are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
[873] were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send [565]
their children to the capital to continue their education, and there [872]
are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law,
medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the [828]
mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the
darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are [829]
not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has
somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro,
meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the
knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only 563
one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all
shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all 529
sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives 526
shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white
man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to
play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation
centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to
keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the
beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together 563
here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of 529
public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price
is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. [565]
Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church
there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front 563
and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the 565
acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, [546]
colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos*
and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). [794]

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely [574]
personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plan- 249
tation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at
the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the 178
numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping 571
between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not 466
all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the [463]
plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists
and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party [574]
given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of
saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor
wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business
basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post
where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house.
On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not [465]
in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the
industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too
large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites 249
descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, 565
marrying among themselves and living out their own social life
apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the com- 571
munity. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend 563
upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the 466
faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in
the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master 178
and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent
trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the [463]
intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureau-
crat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on
the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since
colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites
and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one
lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and
each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice 563
or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western 565
world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a
well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy 463
social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a 178
grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no
political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed
descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high
political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner
who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureau-
cratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or
mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white
group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed
population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of
colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness
always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The adminis-
trators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier
saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their em-
ployers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class
and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to
join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to
deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class
groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as [794]
candomblé and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and
people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to
disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, 565
there are more and more problems of class relationships; the popu- 563
lation is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 178

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178 creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts
[369] physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less
chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly
limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are
greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type;
although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important
criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being
the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town,
people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to
'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially.
There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is
no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro
ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or
[826] embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the
homem de côr, provided he has the money and the education to take
advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important
in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the
complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and
the idealization of the *morena*.

In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

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Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The ~~so~~-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133-34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

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What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

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In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[13]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[13] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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long held this position. "The line which separates him (the man of color) from the branco," Bastide (1943a:29–30) once wrote, "is not a caste line but one of class; and the proof is that, as the descendant of the African rises in the community, the doors of the houses of the brancos open to him." This certainly does not describe a situation of race prejudice. The shrewd observer, James Bryce (470), also saw the distinction, in a similar situation, as one "of rank or class rather than of color."

In their analyses of the local "racial" situation several writers in Brazil refer of course to the relationship of the colored with the brancos; but almost without exception the relationship described is with the brancos of the *upper* and *middle* classes,[14] almost never with the brancos of the lower class. This is one of the reasons why there is a tendency to see a racial, or at least a color, struggle where in many—if not most—cases class competition is involved; class competition into which color of course enters, since it is a criterion of rank, but not *per se*, alone, and determinantly.

There is no doubt that color is one of the criteria of rank in Brazil; and, *all else being equal*, the darker the pigmentation, the lower the rank, and the less the pigmentation, the higher the rank. However, this is merely the same situation that exists with reference to all the other criteria: the lower the status of the family to which one belongs, all else being equal, the lower the rank, and the higher the social standing of that family, all else being equal, the higher the rank; the less a person's education, all else being equal, the lower his

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[14] This limiting feature extends to several of the attitude and "social distance" studies reported to date in the Brazilian literature. This is clearly stated by Thales de Azevedo (1959:146) and René Ribeiro (1956:157); but unfortunately it is not so clearly recognized by several other writers.

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rank, and the more extensive that education, all else being equal, the higher the rank; etc.

The principal difficulty in this connection—and one which sometimes leads to a misinterpretation of the Brazilian scene—is that of giving inadequate attention to the determinants of rank in a given case. One sees a person who is not fully accepted, or even is discriminated against, and one also notes that this person is of African ancestry. The observer—particularly if he be from the United States—then assumes that the discrimination is due to race; or, if not to race, at least to color. In other words, D (discrimination) is immediately linked in a casual connection with R (race), or with C (color).

Usually, however, the situation in any given case in Brazil is more complex: D may be due also to E (low educational level); or to L (low economic condition); or to F (membership in a family of low status); or to P (certain unfavorable personal characteristics which carry low-status value); or to PF, PE, or PL; or to FE, or FL; or to EL; or to PEF, PEL, or EFL; or, still further, to PFEL or, even, PFELX.[13] Any given case is likely to be quite complex and to require careful and thorough analysis.

But if the fact that color is one of the several criteria of rank is to be cited as evidence of color *prejudice*, then one logically must conclude that all the other criteria of rank also have their prejudice counterparts; so that there is low-family-origin prejudice, low-financial-condition prejudice, low-educational-achievement prejudice, and inadequate-personal-characteristics prejudice. Perhaps so. But does this not represent an overworking of the term? Would it not be more

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[13] We thus arrive at the extreme case—which unfortunately is that of many descendants of former slaves—namely, PFELXC.

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accurate to say that there is discrimination in Brazil on the basis of family origin, financial condition, educational achievement, personal characteristics—*and color?*

It nevertheless is true that the indelible character of color makes it somewhat different from the other criteria of rank. Always visible, it automatically and inevitably carries over into any situation of improved status. It cannot be hidden in new contacts nor entirely forgotten in the old, as readily occurs to a former condition of poverty, a former lack of education, or formerly immature or otherwise inadequate personal characteristics. Even relationship to a low-status family can be put "out of sight" to some extent merely by moving to a new community where one's family origin is unknown, or, if known, often imperfectly so.

That none of these former marks of low status continue to cling in the same way as color to the individual who has risen in rank in one of the reasons for some of the confusion regarding the precise character of the Brazilian "racial" situation. Some observers point out the undoubted opportunities of rising in rank, *in spite of color;* while others stress the difficulties in the way—difficulties not only of a colored person rising in rank at all but also with reference to the after-effects, sociologically, in his group relations (Florestan Fernandes 1955; 1964), and psychologically, as far as his inner life is concerned (Bastide 1943b), especially if he be a particularly sensitive or perhaps a pathological individual, as the poet Cruz e Sousa may have been.[16]

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Moreover, it is more difficult for a colored woman to rise in rank than for a colored man, because one more criterion of status is thus brought into play, namely, female sex; for, traditionally in Brazil male sex has been valorized and female

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[16] See Emiliano Pernetta, p. 3, *apud Ianni* (1962: 264).

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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

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That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

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That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

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[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955:163).

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Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

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Besides, there always has been a gr[illegible] "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

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[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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politan areas even then—as we have pointed out above, there has scarcely been anything like a "middle class," to help individuals from the lower ranks cross over this "gulf." One should also recall that during the colonial period and long thereafter rural properties were extensively in the hands of the dominant class, so that the means of wealth in a predominantly agricultural country, except as it derived from a comparatively low scale of wages, from share cropping, or from small holdings (particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais), were largely out of the reach of all persons in the lower and intermediate ranks, whatever their color. This situation presented an almost insuperable problem to slaves and their descendants, who began competing in a free society with slender or no financial resources, minus, in most cases, even the occupational skills possessed by many immigrants, without even a "foot" on or even near the "ladder," so to speak. It also required Herculean effort to educate themselves or their children under conditions of an inadequate school system even for the upper ranks, to acquire skills, and to improve their personal and occupational competence so as to obtain the ability to compete, without which it would be impossible to rise The basic problem in this respect therefore, has been—and still is—an *economic* and *educational* problem, not a racial problem at all. William L. Schurz (106) sees it as a "time lag."

Some authors point to the use of the derogatory term "*mulatto pernóstico*" (p. 230 of this book) as indicative of race, or at least color, prejudice. However, Thales de Azevedo more correctly reminds us (1955a:60) that the disapproval and even at times hostility revealed in the use of this term is not directed against the mulattoes as a group at all. Instead, the judgments involved are applied to certain individuals, *as*

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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

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[22] This is, of course, not a complete list of criteria used in Brazil. To it should probably be added: type of occupation, living level, certain personal and social characteristics of capital importance in determining prestige and position (cf., for instance, p. 205 of this book; Pierson 1951: 200–205), and perhaps others.

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ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

This preliminary inquiry is probably not worthy of being published in full here or elsewhere, since the replies are too limited in number, the samples need greater care regarding their representativeness, and the presentation of questions perhaps was not under the rigorous control necessary to obtain common situations of response. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that these are preliminary and tentative data, they do at least afford some clues regarding the "racial" situation in Brazil, at least sufficiently to raise hypotheses for further testing.

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Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

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In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "second most important" by only two respondents. Given as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

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Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

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When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

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What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

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Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

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[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and indus- 121*
trialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the 178
secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan 466
character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new 571
social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched [BB*
above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" 563]
situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After
a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it
seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with
Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much." BB

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), how- 121*
ever, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are 178
increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this 565 •
rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration
in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of 563*
previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and 571
pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social
order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a
larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more
difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; BB
and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving [315]
from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and
the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on [377]
the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the
presently increasing anonymity and make relations more BB
contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational oppor- [871]
tunities increase and extend downward further into the
masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to
the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia B
may alter, perhaps markedly. BB

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses 121*

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[25] In a letter to the author. 563*

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128 vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to
*563 refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

114 Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters
*563 mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to
*565 erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chap-
*121 ter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

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[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly 563*
stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Har- 565*
ris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this 121*
is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but
not race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked.
Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing
with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrim-
ination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason
of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the
same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low
family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educa-
tional level, or of lack of personal competence. EB

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invali- 114
dated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis 563
of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice BB
against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic 121*
status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do
not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formu- B
lated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we sub-
scribe to it, as stated. BB

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] 128
may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, 121*
in order to make the description and analysis more precise B
and complete. BB

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called 114
our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among 16
the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian 563*
population may be proportionately lower now than in the 121*

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[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

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With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

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For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

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Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

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[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

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7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

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8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

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To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

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has a rigid class structure" would seem to be valid for all Brazil outside pioneer areas. We might consider also in this connection the observations of Hutchinson (1963:45-46) at Vila Recôncavo to the effect that "the population is becoming . . . class-conscious" and that "there is an increasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy"; as well as the discovery by Harris (1963:79) of a degree of tension in the large middle group at Minas Velhas; and certain data turned up in the studies in central and southern Brazil. These (and other) considerations raise the following additional hypothesis:

10. Both social mobility and class-consciousness are increasing; and this increase may be heightening color-consciousness, particularly in the intermediate ranks, by reason of the comparative rigidity of class lines, and the fact that color is a criterion of rank.

JULY 1965

DONALD PIERSON

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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All 131
Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and
varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous 134
marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of
southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as
massapé or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the
feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears
only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation.
This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly [249]
both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable
agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, 178
of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of 249
slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although 471
the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by 565 •
reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence
of primitive techniques of production. Although large 567
landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent,
its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent
decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth
centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth
of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in
prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition
of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow,
and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern.
However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo [161]
than elsewhere in the state outside the city of [144]
Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

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[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term. [103]

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke [621] serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

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One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

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This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges, [494]

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[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

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565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the
cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable,
more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of
[362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and
[463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here
ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large
landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its
"society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians;
the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the
professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which
Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent
in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic
life of the city. These families possess considerable property
[873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually
[463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated
from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or
engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society
marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in
[291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions
from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted.
[341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture
[422] and interior design has appeared. Here are to be
found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones,
[206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here
[217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal
[207] election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or
Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is
[794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions.
[177] Here live that portion of the population which *o povo*
("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, 565
less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less ex- [362]
pensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out
streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by [363]
way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery [487]
after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the
steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are 342
simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over
which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If 565
the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of
the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale
tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is com-
monly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh
areia from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usual-
ly of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to
permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's
fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or 565
stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, 35
more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil
Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is
used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious
niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a
candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for
washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of 565
baked clay and quite simple in design. [415]

In respect to economic level, education, and, to some ex-
tent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas
diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually [212]
illiterate, although some of the children are now being en-
rolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is [20]
ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book,
or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education,
[668] family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary
to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't 186
mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't [867]
pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and 361
valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, 565
characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the [362]
less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[11] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

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[11] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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notes that this segregation by economic and educational classes conforms in a general way, although with certain important exceptions, to the differences in color in the population. In fact, Bahia on initial acquaintance seems not unlike a medieval city surrounded by African villages.[13]

Thus, in general, one may say that the whites and the lighter mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and hence more expensive ridges of the city; while the blacks and darker mixed-bloods usually reside in the less convenient, less healthful, hence cheaper, low-lying areas, and the outlying, less accessible regions called locally *suburbios*. In other words, the ridges of the *ricos* correspond in the main to the residential areas of the whites and of the lighter *mestiços*, while the valleys and the outlying sections of the *pobres* correspond in large measure to the residential areas of the darker portion of the population. On the outskirts of the city, such sections as Matta Escura, Engenho Velho, Federação, Garcia, Quintas da Barra, Retiro, Alto do Abacaxi, Alto das Pombas, Estrada da Liberdade, Estrada do Rodagem, Cabrito, Cruz do Cosme, Matatú Pequeno, etc., are all predominantly inhabited by blacks and darker mixed-bloods. The lighter *mestiços* are clearly in the minority and whites quite rare. On the other hand, the ridges of Vitoria, Canella, and Graça and the seaside *bairro* of Barra are almost entirely inhabited by whites, with only a limited number of the lighter mixed-bloods scattered among them. It is, however,

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[13] An American resident who had spent five years at Lagos on the African West Coast once remarked, "When I go out into the suburbs of Bahia, I feel like I am back in Africa, the Negro huts and their surroundings are so similar."

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true that one finds, on the slopes to the rear of the more pretentious houses of these areas and spreading into the valleys beyond, a considerable number of simple huts whose occupants are blacks and darker mixed-bloods.

Nazaré is less predominantly an area of white residence, there being in this *bairro* numbers of very light *mestiços* but, except on the slopes toward the Baixa dos Sapateiros, on the one hand, and the Dique, on the other, relatively few blacks. The transitional sections of Santo Antonio, Barbalho, Barris, Tororó, and the peninsula of Itapagipe (which extends more than a mile out into Todos os Santos Bay) are predominantly inhabited by mixed-bloods. Nevertheless, here also a few whites and a considerable number of blacks, particularly in such subsections as Massaranduba in Itapagipe, also live side by side with *mestiços*.

One soon discovers, however, that this ethnic segregation is largely due to the circumstance that color and class, as we shall soon see in detail, tend to coincide. This is, of course, a situation to be anticipated, given the circumstances and conditions of Negro importation and settlement and the comparatively recent emergence of the darker race from a servile status. The important consideration is that there is in Bahia, it seems, no deliberate attempt to segregate the races as a means of maintaining caste or class distinctions.

In fact, the spatial distribution of the races would appear even on first sight to be an index of the racial situation, and longer acquaintance with the city tends to confirm this hypothesis. The residential pattern suggests a gradually evolving, freely competitive society in which the Europeans settled on the ridges, and the Africans and their descendants, as propertyless slaves, or impoverished freedmen, were rele-

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Pēruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

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[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

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[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an [562]
industrial-city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose
world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these
characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one [362]
will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves
out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vi- [565] •
toria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to 125
have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement win- 563 *
dows opening out on the street. From this vantage point 796
the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on [342]
elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Conse-
quently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage [517]
of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

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[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, 175
followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family 565
ama, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then 567
the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in 571
training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a [291]
matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as
the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor B
to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit 175
> of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, 565
> to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and chil- 567
> dren, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best 291
> dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ...
> usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the
> family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of
> laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same 175
houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where 369
the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" under- 567
neath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daugh- 571
ters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33]
they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves
and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such
intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

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[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

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[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar, mandá; comer, comê;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l, mulher* becoming *muler; colher, coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço, cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado, fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*."[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

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[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201.

[115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

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[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as 826
Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding 563*
the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may 826
note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indi- 162
cated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937 [217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these 563*
years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of 163
an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. 114
Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these [565] •
births occur usually among the lower classes, which are [162]
largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths 165
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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19] 563*

In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata. 563* 565 •

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually 563* 162

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[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

* 563 162 has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white-*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.[30] It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

* 563 • 565 Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying [125] themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

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[30] It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing. 563* 565

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[11] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Marc to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood. 463 563* 565

Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco- 434 563* 565

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[11] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

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• 565 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

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In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white. Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[31]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

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[31] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

563* 565 ● on the couple. "Some people feel sorry for them and try to treat them as usual; but, especially if the black is from the lower classes, there is always a difference," commented a member of the upper class. If someone marries a person a great deal darker than himself, one hears the phrase "Ele não tem vergonha na cara" (literally, "He does not have shame in his face").

563* 565 554 "But it would be different," added a white upper-class woman, "with Dr. Raul Calogeras,"[13] naming a prominent *preto*, a man of considerable personal charm, with the poise and bearing of a "gentleman," an able engineer for six years in charge of the sanitary service at Bahia and for twenty years at the head of a similar service for the city and state of São Paulo, once a federal senator and friend of the former president of Brazil, Washington Luiz. He is also nationally regarded as the principal Brazilian "authority" on the Tupi language. For years he has been president of an important intellectual and social institution in Bahia among whose membership, principally white, are to be found many of the leading intellectuals of the city. "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife."

563* 565 The implications of this remark are highly significant, if one would understand the actual racial situation at Bahia. It indicates rather clearly that opposition to marriage with a black is more importantly on class than on racial grounds. When black color comes no longer to identify an individual as a member of the lower class, opposition to him tends to disappear. Virtually no opposition attaches to the marriage of light mixed-bloods into even the upper class, especially if they do not show in their features or color too obvious evidence of Negro origin.

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[13] The name is, for obvious reasons, fictitious.

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In 1914 Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio de Janeiro: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."[24] Although the Bahian aristocracy has maintained itself as endogamous as any similar group in Brazil, or perhaps even more endogamous, individuals possessing at least some Negro blood are now marrying into its ranks.

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A dark mixed-blood at Bahia, a prominent and relatively wealthy commercial figure, courted and married a girl from a distinguished white family. A common expression heard in connection with this case of intermarriage and which perhaps sums up in a pithy statement the racial situation at Bahia is: "Negro rico é branco, e branco pobre é negro" ("A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro"). This is merely another way of saying that class (one criterion of which is wealth), not race, is the primary consideration.

A prominent medical specialist, a dark mixed-blood, has a blond German wife whom he courted and married while a student in Germany. Because of his professional competence, intellectual ability, and personal charm, he occupies a high position in the community. He is a member of the most exclusive social club, membership in which is an infallible index of social status. Since his professional practice is extensive

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[24] "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410.

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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women. 565 ● [554]

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste." [558]

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

> Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
> Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
> Because they are usually crude and stupid.
> Because they belong to a low class.
> Because it would lower me.
> Because I think both should be on the same social level.
> Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
> Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam- 563 *

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leite ('a fly in the milk'). There wasn't so much mixture then."

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One may perhaps say, then, that black color, although an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes at Bahia (at least when sufficiently obvious to be readily observable) is not an absolute bar and may be overcome with the aid of such advantages as wealth, intelligence, occupational proficiency, beauty, and personal charm. The individual involved will be accepted more on the basis of his mental and social qualities than on racial descent.

However, since a Negro cannot escape his color but, on the contrary, constantly carries with him this indelible badge of low status, he tends to be catalogued by one meeting him for the first time as a member of the lower status group. Only as he simultaneously or subsequently gives evidence of other characteristics ordinarily associated with upper-class standing, such as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, "gentlemanly bearing," etc., is this original conception modified; and even then the fact of his being in appearance like a lower-class man remains one of the criteria of him and is undoubtedly a handicap.

It is in the light of this distinction that one perhaps best understands what at first sight appears to be discrimination on the basis of race. Since to a large extent discrimination follows color lines, one is likely to assume its similarity to that which we know in the United States and naïvely posit an automatic relationship between race and discrimination. But if one focuses his attention on those *homens de côr* who have risen in class and who for this reason are no longer subjected to the same prejudices as others of their fellows

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563 who have not yet risen, he sees that the connection between race and discrimination is not direct but *indirect;* that not necessarily discrimination on the basis of *race* is involved but discrimination on the basis of *class*, involving in most cases, quite expectedly, individuals of color, owing to the concentration of the darker portion of the population for centuries in the lower status ranks.

Race has undoubtedly been a factor in Brazil in fixing classes and making them, to some extent at least, hereditary. But race as a criterion of class is breaking down, increasingly, as more and more individuals of dark color give evidence of the possession of, or the ability to achieve, other characteristics indicative of superior status. The significant [554] fact is that a black or dark mulatto *can* overcome the handicap of color, *can* overbalance this liability by means of other assets. His social position is not fixed and rigid. It is always subject to change.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

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The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

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Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

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[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

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The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

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[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the
*175 mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something
563 analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of
701 the dominant European or that of the subject African. In
B the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by
BB whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the
[794] latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organi-
B zations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as
BB well as for *pretos*.[17]

175 In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period
•565 Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the
B predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the pre-
BB dominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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*175 and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet.
563 The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust them-
565 selves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their
291 large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other
826 hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[764] [17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black 565
slaves of the lower stratum.[18] B

The duration of this particular organization was, how- BB
ever, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure [563]*
of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more suc- [178]
cessful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities B BB
for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mu- 563*
lattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was 555
more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, 463
after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* of- 871
fered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not pre- 175
viously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other BB
relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, 157
whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a 563*
Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

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[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160-61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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159 of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the
*563 interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived."[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal
B charm but also for his intelligence and professional com-
B B petence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

*563 Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is con-
555 cerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the
565 return of young professional men who had been trained in
571 Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—
175 enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes.
These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a
[463] number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil
after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better
B informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-
BB brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the
[177] clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the
upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

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[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

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The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

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Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

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[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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563 grown up naturally between the races were never threatened,
567 let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The
B rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always
BB had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

175 Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance
*178 the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus
563 the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic
•565 marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and ac-
463 celerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and
669 the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand.
B Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group
BB per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

*175 The role of sex and of romantic love should not be over-
563 looked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male ex-
832 erted upon daughters of rich and influential European fam-
583 ilies led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

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[14] "The daughters, the *ydyds* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulato* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 134; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Dicionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

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Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

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TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

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In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

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[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status. 565 •

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases. 563* 171 463

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and 563* 571 171

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171 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be ac-
571 cepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

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563 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which
571 is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed
575 of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials
● 565 and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

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563 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Cauca-
571 sian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear,
575 nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband
463 of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European de-
759 scent once commented, "You know when I went to see him
-554 about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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[565] •

In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

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[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[544]

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

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At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

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Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

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Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 340 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

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The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

*563 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a
874 dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark
mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from
[555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of
•[565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic
competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

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*563 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid re-
547 freshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62
535 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the
* evening.

563 In the main gambling-room the group about the table
547 were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an
525 occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most
204 popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

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[27] On September 26, 1936.

[28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

+ 563 796 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

+ 563 565 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification. [555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

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cap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper-class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an "engaging" manner, personal "charm," poise, "breeding," and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

In this connection, an incident in Brazil noted by Edschmid is illuminating:

> The conductor [of the street car] passed all the men wearing collars into the first-class compartment whether they were white, yellow, brown, or black. He relegated all men without collars, regardless of their pigmentation, to the second class. He only looked for a collar. He sent a black-boy with a collar but without boots or shoes into the first, and he relegated a handsome English lad in a low-cut jersey to the second class.[31]

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[31] Kasimir Edschmid, *South America* (New York, 1932), p. 370.

phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black. 563* 192 578

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante." 563* 565• [578] [192]

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42] 563* 554

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela- 563* 829

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[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?' " (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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829 Directing attention to a report in a Bahian newspaper of a lynching in Georgia, this man on another occasion said:

> Look at that! We've never known anything like that in Brazil. Why do the whites in the United States do such a thing? [With a tone of unbelief] Is it just because he's black? I can't understand it. You just can't conceive of such a thing happening here. The black man is as much a Brazilian as any white.

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On the other hand, there are Bahian blacks who, as we have noted, are dissatisfied with their lot. These individuals base their dissatisfaction, however, on an entirely different ground from that of Negroes in the United States; namely, upon class, rather than caste, differences. These blacks, who are all from the lower strata, feel very strongly that the classes occupying a superior social position are not giving the other classes what they deserve. The struggle for position in Brazil, therefore, takes on some of the character of a class struggle in the Marxian sense.

A reflection of this attitude is evident in one of the three last-named papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. The author is a philanthropically minded young journalist. Under the influence of leftist ideology and earnestly impressed with the obviously low economic level of the Bahian lower classes, he writes, somewhat bitterly:

> The black has been, and continues to be, a being apart, almost an animal, permitted by the authorities merely to have access to the streets and to labor for the whites. Nothing more. For this reason the black can never hope to improve himself, to raise very high his intellectual or moral level, the failure to do which is responsible for his continuing animism, his criminality, etc.[43]

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Attitudes of dissatisfaction and protest are also evident in the following suggestions presented by a Bahian *preto* to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress:

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[43] Edison Carneiro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

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trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[44]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

[463] Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

(871) The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

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In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

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[44] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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and social order and have attained a measure of security. If one takes account of class identification, the dissatisfaction and protest here illustrated may be interpreted—and in connection with the whole cultural situation in Brazil properly should be interpreted—as incidents of a class rather than of a racial struggle; of a competitive process which naturally takes on the seeming appearance of a racial struggle due to the coincidence, in general, of class and color identifications.

That this interpretation is tenable is borne out by the fact that from Negroes who have improved their social position one does not hear this note of dissatisfaction and protest. *Pretos* or dark *pardos* who have attained some standing in the community and some measure of recognition commonly defend the white man and laud the merits of Brazil, as did the Negro physician quoted above. Said he, on another occasion, somewhat exaggeratedly: "In Brazil there is no fear of color, no prejudice of race. A black man may enter any profession and draw his clients from any group. See, I was a member of the class of 1928 [proudly displaying a framed panel of photographs of graduates in that year of the Faculty of Medicine]. The greater part of my clients are white. And at the clinic, look at this! [showing a photograph of a large number of children, many of whom were white]. These came to me for professional advice."

A black of some social standing remarked with a show of pride, "Here we are all equal, black, white, and mixed-blood. No position is closed to the black man, and no profession. He can reach any level for which he shows himself fit."

If the presence of a limited degree of race consciousness in Bahia does not imply that the lower-class *preto* is completely satisfied with his lot, neither does it mean that the

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Said, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, a prominent white:

> I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous, he's so busy "maintaining himself," pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance.

"I always find black servants preferable to mulattoes," another white Bahian said. "They're more faithful, more respectful, even if less intelligent perhaps. The mulattoes are always trying to be 'whiter' than they are."

A student wrote:

> The *pardo* has one quality which the *preto* does not have. He is more *pernostico*, probably because he has the strong conviction that, even if one parent *is* black, the other is white. He ordinarily is not as accomplished as the whites, but he wants to appear in public better than he is. The *pretos*, no; they are more pleasant and have the natural gentleness of a race which has suffered much and has been made a martyr by the *senzalas*. I do not mean by this that there are no *pretos* who are ill-bred and stupid; but I do mean to say that such *pretos* are more rare than those *pardos* who, when they attain some position of importance in our public life, act as if they no longer tread upon the earth.

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The attitudes engendered between the various ethnic groups at Bahia tend to be those ordinarily arising out of a struggle for position in any class order. The newly arrived, as well as those engaged in elbowing their way up, are everywhere resented. These attitudes focus upon color for the reason that, within limits, color is still identified with social po-

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sition. But the fact that these attitudes tend to disappear in cases where the colored man's claim to advanced standing rests on grounds of demonstrated competence and obvious personal worth is highly significant. It identifies the Bahian social order as a class society wherein competition takes the form of a struggle between classes (which by reason of historic accident happen to coincide to a considerable degree with color) rather than a struggle between races or colors as such.

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Said a white Bahian: "We like a person to be modest. One who is aggressive and self-assertive we tend to shove back a little. That's one reason why the black, Raul Calogeras, is so well regarded. He never presumes, never pushes himself forward. Whites respect him for what he is, especially for his great intellectual ability."

Another white Bahian, acquainted with the United States, said:

> As I think of it, the feeling toward the Negro here is somewhat like the feeling toward the Jew in the United States. As long as he remains a Jew, it is not the thing to marry him, but occasionally it is done with more or less comment. Your dealings with the Jew depend a great deal on the kind of a Jew he is. If he's a low type, you leave him to himself. If he's overly ambitious, aggressive, and always pushing himself forward, you resent his behavior. If he's educated and capable, but still modest, and at the same time willing to give up his Jewish separatism, you are apt to share more or less your experiences with him. The less he is like a Jew, the more be tries to be like other Americans, the more you have to do with him. In a similar way, the more the Negro repudiates his African connections, the more he comes to be like Europeans, but in a modest, inoffensive way, the more we have to do with him.

A white Bahian wrote: "Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent

CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is per- 178
haps more intimate and has been maintained over a
longer period of time than any similar connection
elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the [563]*
Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a
gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we 565
have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter 171
mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same [177]
stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most 565
of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, 212
are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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184 This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

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177 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

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175 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia
today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese,
a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in
Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes
of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting
salutation, "Ôdí-ôlá-ộ!" and even conversations in Nagô.
192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly
Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of
which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent,
to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter
were noted.

201 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class
565 blacks which are not common to the general population;
for example, the *legùa de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565
placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[19]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551
has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nick-
names are very common, and many individuals are much
better known by them than by their given names. Among
such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable
African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê,
Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a
local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world,
such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba,
Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and
Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá*
to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791
Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793
function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756
who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipu- [754]
lations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the
feiticeiro, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black
magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794]
the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his
function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals
and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred
properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a
curandeiro.

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[19] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as [576]
follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms out-
ward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the [178]
one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*egas* grip"
is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places
his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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[565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black (177] women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is [301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous (301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared.[11]

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

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[532] [11] The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver (789) images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished fam- [422] ilies, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro 262
cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African 177
origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, 263
one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies
like *abará*, *aberêm*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*,
bôbó de inhame, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is
seasoned according to recipes handed down from African
forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings
like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and
egussi.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, 565
European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively 264
utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging [177]
foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories. [824]

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the [415]
darker population further distinguish this portion of the
Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, 565
a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now 535
been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form 533
become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms
but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed
in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With
them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the
participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while
singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others
responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande 533
on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *ataré*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

534 the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo.*[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
•[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity
who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

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[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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> *jacús*, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws
> extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew 781
> back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

The *biatatá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, 776
appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, 825
is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a [177]
house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

The following account reveals in an intimate way the 158
mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian 159
lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the 755
form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here [565]
in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

> I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.
>
> I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99). [171]

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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> 782 My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives
> 776 you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião.
> If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

184 If one were now to set down an account of the personal
177 experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an
178 entirely different mental world. In general content it would
●565 reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European
* origin wherever found.

563 This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between
177 the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the
178 other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear 178 at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a [565] vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous in- [793] stances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult [346] centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is 794 built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom ap- 776 parently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly con- 794 sidered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or rep- 178 resent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lanmore than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 794 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia.

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 390.

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured [565] income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, [463] a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[18]

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[18] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city."

782 565 184 794 Numerous families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida" (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 782 184 794 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 798 794 829 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of European descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the
[848] children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father
"recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear
his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate
household, where they are usually accepted without serious
question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not
[565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual
[554] ability largely determine his role and status; his
parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond
551 his control. A surname is not of great importance, the
given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper
classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are
000 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837] [671] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[illegible] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[illegible] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

There is no caste based upon race; there are only classes. These classes are still largely identified with color, it is true, but they are classes nonetheless and not castes. The most characteristic tendency of the Bahian social order is the gradual but persistent reduction of all distinguishing racial and cultural marks and the fusing, biologically and culturally, of the African and the European into one race and one common culture.

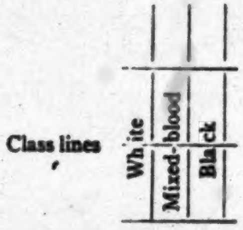
The actual situation in any case of race contact can perhaps be precisely defined by a diagram which distinguishes between caste and class relations.[13] In a caste system the racial lines may run thus:

White

Race lines Mixed-blood

Black

In case the structure of society is organized on the basis of class, as in Brazil or Hawaii, the color lines run vertically, cutting across class lines:



Each race, including the mixed-bloods, is likely to be represented in all the occupational classes. The hierarchy of occupations will inevitably take the form of a pyramid, but the

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[13] The author is indebted for this schematic arrangement to Dr. Robert E. Park.

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565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

[571]

TABLE 16

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

ETHNIC GROUPS	INTELLIGENTSIA		MARGINAL		LOWER CLASS	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

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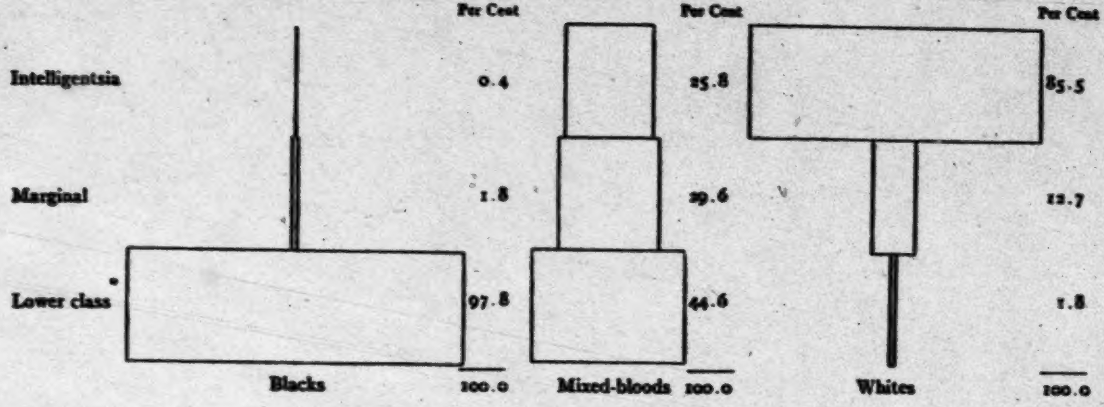
One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 340]

[P. 339]

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936



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[illegible]

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different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

[127]

Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the situation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

> Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race 000 relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia, seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system but to render it obsolete.
>
> Meanwhile, the slow but steady advance of the Negro, as a result of a competition within and without the group, and the gradual rise of a Negro society within the limits of the white man's world have changed the whole structure of race relations in the United States, both in the North and in the South.
>
> The restrictions on intermarriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.[14]

With the Negro in Brazil endogamy is far from absolute, 563 * breaking down particularly along the biological borders of 565 ● the race, probably increasingly, with the passage of time and the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group. The scale of race distinctions, including the Negro at the bottom and the white at the top, seems to correspond in a general way to the scale of color distinctions *within the Negro minority* in the United States.

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Although color and negroid features are still indicative of slave origin and still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute a considerable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these characteristics lose their limiting and restrictive character in proportion as the

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[14] Introduction to Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii.

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[142] degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic
* BB reference is called into question by evidence of status-en-
563 hancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal
565 competence or individual achievement admit persons pos-
555 sessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing in-
stitutions as exclusive clu[illegible] Race consciousness is at a min-
imum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not
ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal
man." The organization of society tends to take the form of
a competitive order in which the individual finds his place
B on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial
BB descent.

*563 The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general
B way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a consid-
[167] erable immigration of Europeans during the past century
[177] into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo,
Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual
development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have
modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in
these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio
Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been re-
ferred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable
EB distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed.
563 That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio
575 de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movi-
[175] mento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Bra-
zilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by
EB the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette
[175] Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Ne-
gro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A
[204] Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice
of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

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ses for further testing what appear to be the more significant facts about the racial situation in Brazil, especially as it is related to the career of the African and his descendants.

1. Although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil than into the United States, or into any other region of the New World, the Brazilian Negro, as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually but to all appearances inevitably disappearing, being biologically absorbed into the predominantly European population. Race mixture has gone on in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of diverse races proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.

2. There is not growing up a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the "Cape Coloured" of South Africa, the Macanese in China, or the Goanese in India. The Brazilian mixed-bloods are absorbing the blacks and are themselves in turn being absorbed by the predominantly European population.

3. In answer to the normal needs of a racial and cultural frontier a tradition of intermarriage arose and became firmly fixed in the colonial mores. This appears to be the natural response in all cases of racial contact where the sex ratio is out of balance.

4. Miscegenation, particularly when linked with intermarriage, resulted in bonds of sentiment between parents and offspring which hindered the arising of attitudes of prejudice and at the same time placed the mixed-bloods in a favorable position for social advancement.

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5. With rise in class, intermarriage between mixed-bloods (especially those of the lighter shades) and whites became increasingly common. Thus, endogamy has for some time

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or—what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

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6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

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8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

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B B
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14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

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15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

B B
[555]

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

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B B
[565]

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

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19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) 563*
portion of the black population. B

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored B B 563*
men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circum- [578]
stances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of [684]
the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United B
States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, B B
many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, [826]
and are similarly known in the community, who not only
have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of B
this descent in their color and features. B B

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than 563 *
race prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds 565 •
inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have
not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the B
Negro in the United States. B B

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal 563*
racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew 183
up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

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183 individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary
[186] conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the
B commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one
B B people."

* 563 25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one
B thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean
B B that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-
[555] bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual
● [565] merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 •565 [439] Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles, both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles, driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

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[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 In order to understand the composition of the local popula-
826 tion and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most com-
[192] mon expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types: in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype;
826 very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and
829 fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do
•565 show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 mulattoes of The light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
• 565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. [114] In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. [113] J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types: the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, *pardos*, or *morenos*, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of *moreno* or *pardo*, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but *morenas*, sometimes saying that their children are *moreninhos* (little *morenos*) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more *morenos* or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are *branco*, *pardo*, and *preto*. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
•565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one
day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a *morena* informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
829 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily
*563 explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, *Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr* /Contribution

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./

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[113]

to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./
829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
● 565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of
the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city,
there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the
métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a
local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and
a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted
in English/.

In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
829 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
*563 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a
192 moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows
what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and
appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one in-
fallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of
mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A
European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great
difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply
considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink
skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these
characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the
"gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the
most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social
ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the
formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light
mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the
darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates
and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

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162 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in
the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost
20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered
in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the
day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing
politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs
and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the
markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms
and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by
means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals
and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a
great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to
one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/*21 cont.*/
*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
•565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656 the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626 structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper
strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595 colonists mixed largely with the *tupi* /Tupi/ Indian women of
the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567 polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641 seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political
rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829 breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large num-
ber of *morenos* explain their dark color by boasting about some
ancestor *pegado a dente de cachorro*, that is to say, captured
like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161 But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /*22*/
[167 occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands
[567 to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of
Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil
was made possible and even favored by different factors, among
them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave
system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual
behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women,
in particular the *minas* Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829 the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in
order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

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1. F. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil* /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one [867] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 •565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
● 565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard
themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist,
darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme
poverty ~~in~~ which he lived during his childhood did not permit
him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color
says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type;
no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among
white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established
between them and their companions at school and play,
without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very
dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made
at school with *finos* Whites. Even among the adults there are some
who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation,
because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his
difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries
of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/
very black university student. Sometimes when he had been
treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But
I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too
am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see
that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt
there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is
never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer,
and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude";
one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very
competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to
plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant
of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./
829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition.
It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
•[565] A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless,
when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./
829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
•565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

•565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[illegible]

/34 cont./

*563 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the
● 565 boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit
restaurants, cafés, tearooms, cabarets; they frequently partici-
*563 pate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
562 papers and magazines report engagements, marriages, the conferring
565 of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes
204 received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any
mention of type or color, printing pictures of either of them in-
discriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known
so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about
him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait re-
produced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 the columns devoted to this kind of news. "Two persons," says a
565 White, "would have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their
exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor
and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day
society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who
"belong to the caste," who, in other words, are mulattoes, although
it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely
classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites
even if they have pronounced black features. It is merely neces-
sary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group in their
behavior. In order to show that she was here already assimilated
with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains
that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a section
other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating rooms of
poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best
565 society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the
course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/35 cont./

*565 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 • 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

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/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
•565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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[167]
[567]
[829]
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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of
●565 race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy,
one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education,
and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis,
however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A
very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in
order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friendships."
[571] In truth, good personal and family relationships are very
important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration,
or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians
teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till,"
which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party
is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with
whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she
does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent
of colored people: she knows several among them who, having
previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating themselves.
[156] "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have
an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do
not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear
to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient
slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare
are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can
[571] say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the
Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment:
"As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position
equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that
the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the
first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one
finds some of them in the positions that we have just named,
without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose
color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of
the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close
•565 to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches
of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an
ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer
/38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As
[114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites,
according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent
place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may
be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires
prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set
forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought
565 about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those
554 who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/
571 for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves
not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their
position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of
those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of
society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."
*563 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who
565 are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse
554 to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually
571 avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the
124 conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not
know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance
among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

/38 cont./

*563 of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus
•565 mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify
554 that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the in-
571 formants' reactions of resentment against people who are much
[124] higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not
know them personally. A number of persons questioned even
[829] showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563
565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of differ-
[585] ent races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded
[162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/*43 cont.*/
*563 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can
829 be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but
there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with
reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women.
This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of
psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality
problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly
in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women
much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some
emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark
color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very
•[565] often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which
they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although
[626] marriages between mulattoes and *morenos* are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are
very /*44*/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

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1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*

*563 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage
565 is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for
554 a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of
his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl
of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the
opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The
*563 marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is
[626] much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition
in all milieus, although the opinions about the *morena* with fine
features and the color of *jambo* make this type desirable for
certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much
*563 more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark
59 man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain
this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

[124] [565] 2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

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From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
• 565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and
métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life: he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two
Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[467] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
in the federal chamber was created: in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

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/59 cont./
*563 of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred
706 more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant
874 that among the articles that the papers published about this
[204] event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader
originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

[641] 1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations
641 in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given
colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing
themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now
not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos
Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals,
*563 support them by their writings. At present the naval
apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous
70 Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and
● [565] military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and
Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of
sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart
from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized
courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the
national military organizations, is the one that is considered the
most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the
officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

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/62/

The Arts

*563 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who
53 interpret it according to their personal conception. And one
may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art
that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the
• [566] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the
higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored
*563 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of
533 the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for
[555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of
them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the
social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is
a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as
[875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach
[556] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they
succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families
and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most
important schools of music.

*563 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of
875 Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are
533 mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very
brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years
in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he re-
turns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-
feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists
seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the
talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential
persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very
famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts
that it organized. After his death, the management of the school
passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at
[462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black
or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity
to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and
*563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood
545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the
533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

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/68 cont./

*563 In the public elementary schools the students, in general
872 little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscrimi-
572 nately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory
attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/
• 565 that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 In the libraries one can see students of very different types
[217] gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary associa-
[814] tion founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary
[873] school has white and colored members.

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/69 cont./

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A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564]
•[565]
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1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

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Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance.
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872
But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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/71 cont./

* 563 873 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the com-
[796] munion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations.
[788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimina-
• [565] tion; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

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*563 /72 cont./
794 social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one
to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and
• [565] third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded
for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed
*563 into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations
554 have always been very important in all of Latin
794 America for marking or confirming the social classification of
their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished
person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions
the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a
[796] management position. During certain large religious festivals one
can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear
[292] with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic
of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying
the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be
able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of
the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The
elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon
which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and
which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest
among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions
who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to
say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached
and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended
for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his
social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities.
[175] These organizations were created in the colonial period in
order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as
happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic
groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order
[178] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that
even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class
[565] lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the
process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new
conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions
having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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/77 cont./

*563 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by
526 the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered
575 them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

•[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination
[178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however,
[565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football.
526 Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

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*563 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession
463 depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige
(agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-
graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is
*563 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the
759 fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery:
"Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in
the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them
either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth
*563 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants
758 of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together ac-
759 cording to their maladies and according to their rank, and not ac-
743 cording to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of
● 565 the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay
the price demanded.

*563 The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate
554 are given without distinction to black or white persons who prac-
463 tice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained
[301] the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic
ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and
treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may
manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without en-
countering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite
of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated
a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by
saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are
Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked
[124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to
question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the
careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of
replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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*563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 *morenos* and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. [538] The group of poets and prose writers who, under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic group. ● [565] It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only *finos* Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (*brancas na côr*).

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5: Azevedo--130 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

[113] 1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto catégorico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

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● [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3),

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in gen-
671 eral; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise
829 again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never
as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

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829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

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[555 But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system
of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
● 565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up
a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.,	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96	62.03	58	30.05	13	7.90	167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142		79		20		241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

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[SALVADOR]

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Totals
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

[SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004